

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 11949 01 OF 03 231932Z

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CU-02 ERDE-00 EURE-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 USIE-00 SSO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1656

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 11949

FOR EUR/CE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, GW, WB, US, UK, FR,

SUBJECT: CSCE: APPLICABILITY TO BERLIN

REF: BONN 11894

BEGIN SUMMARY. BONN GROUP REPS MET ON JULY 23 AT
FRENCH INSISTENCE TO DISCUSS THREE ISSUES: WHETHER
TO INFORM THE SOVIETS IN ADVANCE OF ALLIED CSCE STATE-
MENTS REGARDING BERLIN, THE CHANCELLOR'S REMARKS CON-
CERNING BERLIN AND CSCE, AND PRESS GUIDANCE. OTHER THREE
REPS STATED THEIR STRONG PREFERENCE THAT THE SOVIETS
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PAGE 02 BONN 11949 01 OF 03 231932Z

BE INFORMED IN A LOW KEY MANNER OF ALLIED STATEMENTS ON

BERLIN IN ADVANCE OF THE HELSINKI SUMMIT. US REP
STATED THAT THE USG WAS STRONGLY AGAINST INFORMING
SOVIETS IN ADVANCE. END SUMMARY

1. FRENCH REP (BOISSIEU) BEGAN JULY 23 BONN GROUP
DISCUSSION BY SAYING THAT THE FRENCH DID NOT HAVE
STRONG FEELINGS REGARDING INFORMING THE SOVIETS IN
ADVANCE OF ALLIED CSCE STATEMENTS ON BERLIN. HOWEVER,
THE VIEWS HE LATER EXPRESSED LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT
THE FRENCH DO, IN FACT, STRONGLY FAVOR INFORMING THE
SOVIETS. BOISSIEU STATED THAT WE SHOULD DO SO
FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, BECAUSE OF THE DPA
DISPATCHES CARRIED IN GERMAN NEWSPAPERS TODAY, THE
SOVIETS ALREADY KNOW THAT WE ARE GOING TO SAY SOMETHING.
AND SECOND, WE ARE CERTAINLY GOING TO HAVE MANY PRESS
INQUIRIES ON THIS SUBJECT--ESPECIALLY IN THE FRG AFTER
THE JULY 25 SESSION OF THE BUNDESTAG. IF WE SAY NOTHING,
WE RUN TWO RISKS: (1) WE WOULD VIOLATE THE CSCE
PRACTICES DEVELOPED IN GENEVA WITH RESPECT TO CONFIRM-
ING TO OUR NEGOTIATING PARTNERS THERE WHAT IS ALREADY
PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE, AND (2) THE SOVIETS, NOT KNOWING WHAT
THE ALLIES ARE GOING TO SAY, MAY PREPARE A STRONG
COUNTER STATEMENT. BOISSIEU SUMMARIZED THE FRENCH
POSITION, SAYING THAT IT IS BETTER TO GIVE THE SOVIETS
REASSURANCE THAT THE ALLIES PLAN TO MAKE AN INNOCUOUS
STATEMENT ABOUT BERLIN THAN TO LET THEIR IMAGINATIONS
RUN WILD.

2. THE BRITISH REP (CROMARTIE) STATED THAT THE FCO
AGREES WITH THIS VIEW. THE FCO EXPECTS A SOVIET REACTION
TO ANY STATEMENT ON BERLIN (AS OPPOSED TO WEST BERLIN),
BUT THAT IF THE ALLIES DID NOT INFORM THE SOVIETS,
AN UNNECESSARY ARGUMENT MIGHT ENSUE.

3. THE FRG REP (LUECKING) EXPRESSED FRG AGREEMENT ON
THE POINTS NOTED ABOVE. LUECKING EMPHASIZED THAT
MEYER LANDRUT HAS ALREADY POINTED OUT TO THE SOVIETS
SEVERAL TIMES THAT EUROPE, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CSCE
MEANS BERLIN, AND THAT THE FRG WILL REQUIRE PUBLIC
STATEMENTS TO THIS EFFECT. LUECKING ADDED THAT THE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BONN 11949 01 OF 03 231932Z

LEAK IN BERLIN (REPORTED REFTTEL) MAKES IT EVEN MORE
IMPORTANT TO INFORM THE SOVIETS. LUECKING STATED THAT
IT IS ALMOST A "NEW SITUATION"; THE SOVIETS MIGHT THINK
THAT THE ALLIES ARE GOING TO MAKE A "BERLIN SHOW" IN
HELSINKI. LUECKING STATED THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT
THE ALLIES POINT OUT TO THE SOVIETS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
IN A MOST INFORMAL WAY THE LOW KEY NATURE OF ALLIED
STATEMENTS RELATING TO BERLIN. WE MUST BE CAREFUL,

LUECKING CONTINUED, TO ENSURE THAT THE PRESS
STORIES WHICH ARE BOUND TO FOLLOW THE DPA DISPATCHES
REPORTED REFTEL DO NOT STIMULATE MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

4. US REP REMINDED THE OTHER BONN GROUP REPS
THAT THE USG HAS FELT ALL ALONG THAT MAKING ANY
STATEMENT ON BERLIN WOULD PROMPT A SOVIET RESPONSE.
WE REPORTED THE STRONG NEGATIVE VIEWS IN THE DEPARTMENT
REGARDING INFORMING THE SOVIETS IN ADVANCE OF ALLIED
CSCE STATEMENTS. WE IMPRESSED UPON THEM THE US BELIEF
THAT WERE WE TO INFORM THE SOVIETS, WE WOULD BE VERY

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 BONN 11949 02 OF 03 231934Z

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CU-02 ERDE-00 EURE-00 NSCE-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 11949

LIKELY TO GET INTO A NEGOTIATING SITUATION WITH THEM. FURTHERMORE, THE SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN IN GENEVA THAT ON SOME SENSITIVE QUESTIONS THEY WOULD PREFER NOT TO BE INFORMED, THAT IN INFORMING THE SOVIETS THE ALLIES WOULD IN ESSENCE BE ASKING FOR A SOVIET RESPONSE.

5. CROMARTIE STATED THAT HE HAD TALKED TO THE FCO ON THIS ISSUE PRIOR TO TODAY'S BONN GROUP MEETING. THE FCO WAS OF THE OPINION THAT IN NO CASE SHOULD THE SOVIETS BE GIVEN THE TEXT OF THE ALLIED STATEMENTS RELATING CSCE TO BERLIN, BUT THAT, AT LEAST AT THE WORKING LEVEL, THE FCO ENDORSED AN ORAL, INFORMAL, LOW KEY APPROACH
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BONN 11949 02 OF 03 231934Z

TO THE SOVIETS IN THE COURSE OF OTHER BUSINESS AIMED AT INFORMING THEM THAT THE ALLIES WOULD MAKE NON-CONTROVERSIAL STATEMENTS ABOUT BERLIN AT THE HELSINKI SUMMIT. BOISSIEU STATED THAT HE SHARED THE UK POSITION ENTIRELY. HE, TOO, EXCLUDED SHOWING THE SOVIETS THE TEXT. THE SOVIETS SHOULD MERELY BE TOLD THAT THE ALLIES PLAN TO MAKE A TWO-LINE STATEMENT ABOUT BERLIN AND CSCE. BOISSIEU SAID THAT HE COULD SEE THE US POINT ABOUT NOT INFORMING THE SOVIETS BECAUSE WE FELT THAT THEY WOULD BE COMPELLED TO REPLY, BUT HE SAID THIS POINT CARRIED MORE WEIGHT WITHIN A QUADRI-PARTITE FRAMEWORK, I.E., WHERE THE GDR IS NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED. IN THE CASE OF CSCE, THE GDR WAS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO INSIST UPON A STRONG USSR STATEMENT RELATING TO BERLIN IF THEY ARE NOT REASSURED BY THE SOVIETS THAT THE ALLIED STATEMENTS ARE, IN FACT, INNOCUOUS.

6. REPS CONCLUDED THIS PORTION OF THE DISCUSSION STATING THAT ALL WOULD REPORT VIEWS EXPRESSED IN TODAY'S MEETING TO CAPITALS AND SEEK FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

7. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF PRESS GUIDANCE, THE US REP SUGGESTED ISSUE SHOULD BE DOWNPLAYED AND THAT INQUIRIES ABOUT THE BERLIN LEAK SHOULD BE ANSWERED WITH LOW-KEY STATEMENTS THAT MAKE IT OBVIOUS THAT ALLIES ASSUME BERLIN IS COVERED BY CSCE. UK AND FRENCH REPS THOUGHT BEST LINE TO FOLLOW WAS TO SAY NOTHING AT ALL OTHER THAN FACT THAT SPEECHES OF HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOT YET FINALLY DRAFTED.

8. LUECKING EMPHASIZED THAT THE FRG NEED TO HAVE A DECISION ON INFORMING THE SOVIETS IN ADVANCE AS WELL AS THEIR NEED TO HAVE PRESS GUIDANCE ON BERLIN AND CSCE WERE PRESSING CONSIDERATIONS, INDEED. HE NOTED THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT FRIDAY'S SPECIAL BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON

CSCE WILL FOCUS NOT ON THE MERITS OF BASKET III BUT ON TWO ISSUES ONLY: BERLIN AND GERMAN UNITY. THEREFORE, NO MATTER WHAT THE ALLIES WOULD DESIRE REGARDING KEEPING THE ISSUE LOW-KEY, AFTER JULY 25 WE CAN EXPECT THE OPPOSITE.

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PAGE 03 BONN 11949 02 OF 03 231934Z

9. AFTER PROLONGED DISCUSSION, DURING WHICH FRENCH AND PARTICULARLY BRITISH INSISTED THAT A "NO COMMENT".TYPE PRESS LINE WAS PREFERABLE, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE TO CAPITALS:

--IF ASKED ABOUT THE BERLIN STORY, RESPOND THAT IT IS PREMATURE TO SAY WHAT WILL BE IN THE HELSINKI SPEECHES, DRAFTING OF WHICH HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED.

--IF PRESSED ON BERLIN STATEMENTS TO BE MADE IN HELSINKI, REPLY THAT IT IS NOT EXPECTED THAT THE CSCE SUMMIT WILL BE A CONFERENCE ON BERLIN.

--IF FURTHER PRESSED AS TO WHETHER THERE IS IN FACT AN ALLIED AGREEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE BERLIN STORY, REPLY WITH REFERENCES TO THE EXPECTATION THAT BERLIN WILL, OF COURSE, BENEFIT FROM CSCE AND THAT CSCE EXPRESSLY RELATES TO ALL OF EUROPE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 BONN 11949 03 OF 03 231937Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 11949

10. LUECKING

SAID THAT FRG PRESS GUIDANCE AS NOW ENVISAGED WAS
COMPRISED OF THREE ELEMENTS. FIRST, THE PRESS SPOKESMEN
CANNOT ANTICIPATE WHAT THE CHANCELLOR MIGHT SAY IN HIS
FINAL STATEMENT. SECOND, THE FRG WOULD, OF COURSE,
WELCOME ANY STATEMENT BY THE THREE POWERS ON BERLIN.
AND THIRD, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE BENEFITS OF CSCE WILL
APPLY TO BERLIN IN ANY CASE BECAUSE LANGUAGE TO THIS
EFFECT IS ALREADY IN THE CSCE DOCUMENTS. LUECKING
NOTED THAT THE FRG WILL PUBLISH ALL CSCE TEXTS TOMORROW
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 11949 03 OF 03 231937Z

JULY 24, AND THAT THE FRG HAD ALREADY INFORMED THE
SOVIETS ON THIS POINT. THIS IS NECESSARY IN VIEW OF
THE JULY 25 BUNDESTAG DEBATE. THE US REP STATED
THAT WE HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH THE FRG PRESS LINE, AND
THAT WE WOULD RECOMMEND IT TO WASHINGTON.

11. LUECKING CIRCULATED THE FOLLOWING DRAFT TEXT OF
THE CHANCELLOR'S PROPOSED REMARKS ON BERLIN AT THE
HELSINKI SUMMIT WHICH THE FONOFF HAS RECOMMENDED TO
THE CHANCELLERY:

"FURTHERMORE, FOR THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IT IS OF
GREAT SIGNIFICANCE THAT A SPECIAL CLAUSE HAS BEEN
PLACED IN THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES TO THE EFFECT
THAT THE CONFERENCE TEXTS WILL IN NO WAY AFFECT
EXISTING RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES NOR EXISTING
TREATIES, AGREEMENTS, AND ARRANGEMENTS. IN PARTICULAR,

THIS CLAUSE COVERS THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FOUR POWERS WITH RESPECT TO GERMANY AS A WHOLE AND BERLIN. JUST AS IMPORTANT FOR US IS THE INTENTION OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES TO MAKE THE BENEFITS OF CSCE--I.E., THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION, EXCHANGES, AND CONTACTS IN ALL OF EUROPE--EFFECTIVE ALSO IN BERLIN. IN THIS CONNECTION, I WELCOME THE STATEMENT OF THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER THAT, SUBJECT TO QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, THE DOCUMENTS AGREED UPON IN CSCE ARE ALSO VALID FOR BERLIN. FOR US THE SITUATION IN BERLIN IS AND REMAINS A CRITERION FOR THE POTENTIAL (BEREITSCHAFT) FOR DETENTE." (COMMENT: SCHMIDT WILL SPEAK AFTER WILSON BUT BEFORE FRANCE AND THE US.)

12. COMMENT: REPS REALIZE TIME IS RUNNING OUT FOR PLANNING AN APPROACH TO SOVIETS BETWEEN NOW AND OPENING OF SUMMIT BUT NEVERTHELESS HOPE TO COMPARE NOTES ONCE MORE AFTER CAPITALS HAVE CONSIDERED TODAY'S MEETING. AS IT STANDS, US NEGATIVE STANCE MEANS BONN GROUP IS RECOMMENDING AGAINST SUCH AN APPROACH.

13. ACTION REQUESTED: REQUEST DEPARTMENT'S REACTION TO AN APPROACH TO SOVIETS IN LIGHT OF THIS LATEST MEETING, AND ALSO TO SUGGESTED PRESS GUIDANCE.
HILLENBRAND
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PAGE 03 BONN 11949 03 OF 03 231937Z

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